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S. Deger-Jalkotzy

### **Geometric Pottery from Elateia-Alonaki. The End of a Long History**

in: M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou – Ch. Kritsas – I. P. Touratsoglou (eds.),  
Πύρρα. Μελέτες για την αρχαιολογία στην Κεντρική Ελλάδα προς  
τιμήν της Φανουρίας Δακορώνια (Αθήνα 2018) 49–72

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# Πύρρα

Μελέτες για την αρχαιολογία στην Κεντρική Ελλάδα  
προς τιμήν της

Φανουρίας Δακορώνια

Α΄ ΠΡΟΪΣΤΟΡΙΚΟΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΙ

επιμέλεια

Μαρία-Φωτεινή Παπακωνσταντίνου

Χαράλαμπος Κριτζάς

Ιωάννης Π. Τουράτσογλου

ΣΗΜΑΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ



Η έκδοση πραγματοποιήθηκε  
με την οικονομική υποστήριξη του Ινστιτούτου Αιγαιακής Προϊστορίας (INSTAP)

Πύρρα

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Σχεδιασμός, σελιδοποίηση, επεξεργασία εικόνων, εκδοτική επιμέλεια: ΣΗΜΑΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ

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ISBN: 978-960-99349-9-2  
Πύρρα Α': 978-960-99349-7-8  
Πύρρα Β': 978-960-99349-8-5

*Πύρρα: με τον σύζυγό της Δευκαλίωνα συνέβαλαν στην αναγέννηση των ανθρώπων. Κατά μια παράδοση η Πύρρα είχε ταφεί στον Κύνο όπου εγκαταστάθηκαν μετά τον κατακλυσμό (Φ. ΔΑΚΟΡΩΝΙΑ, «Η Λοκρίδα μέσα από τα μνημεία και τις αρχαιολογικές έρευνες», στο Φ. ΔΑΚΟΡΩΝΙΑ, Δ. ΚΩΤΟΥΛΑΣ, Ε. ΜΠΑΛΤΑ, Β. ΣΥΘΙΑΚΑΚΗ, Γ. ΤΟΛΙΑΣ, Λοκρίδα. Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός, Αθήνα 2002, σ. 24· Στράβ. ΙΧ, 4.2).*

# Πύρρα

Μελέτες για την αρχαιολογία στην Κεντρική Ελλάδα προς τιμήν της **Φανουρίας Δακορώνια**

Α΄ ΠΡΟΪΣΤΟΡΙΚΟΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΙ

επιμέλεια  
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## GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM ELATEIA-ALONAKI. THE END OF A LONG HISTORY

Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy

### ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΚΗ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΚΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ «ΑΛΩΝΑΚΙ» ΕΛΑΤΕΙΑΣ. ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΑΣ ΜΑΚΡΑΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

Στο παρόν άρθρο παρουσιάζονται τα κεραμικά τεκμήρια για τις τελευταίες ταφές της Πρώιμης εποχής του Σιδήρου σε επτά θαλαμωτούς τάφους του μυκηναϊκού νεκροταφείου στη θέση «Αλωνάκι» Ελάτειας, στην κεντρική Ελλάδα. Το υλικό αποτελείται από 17 ταφικά αγγεία, τα οποία χρονολογούνται στον 9ο αι. π.Χ. Οι συγκεκριμένες αποθέσεις παρουσιάζουν ακόμα μεγαλύτερο ενδιαφέρον, καθώς οι τάφοι στο 'Αλωνάκι' γενικά φαίνεται να είχαν εγκαταλειφθεί στους πρώιμους ή μέσους Πρωτογεωμετρικούς χρόνους, το αργότερο, και τα στοιχεία για την ύστερη Πρωτογεωμετρική φάση απουσιάζουν. Επιπλέον, οι ταφικές συνήθειες δεν παρουσιάζουν σταθερή εικόνα. Από την μια πλευρά οι ταφές είχαν ακόμα αποτεθεί σε μυκηναϊκούς θαλαμωτούς τάφους και μικροί θαλαμωτοί τάφοι είχαν ήδη λαξευτεί τον 9ο αι. Από την άλλη πλευρά, αυτοί οι «μη κανονικοί» τάφοι, καθώς και η ταφή που περικλείονταν από μια λίθινη «κατασκευή» στο δρόμο του τάφου XLIV αντιστοιχούσαν σε μια ταφική πρακτική της εποχής του Σιδήρου, εφόσον περιείχαν μοναχικές ταφές. Το συγκριτικά μεγάλο ποσοστό ανοιχτών σχημάτων μεταξύ των ταφικών αγγείων και η στυλιστική τους συγγένεια με τις ανατολικές ηπειρωτικές περιοχές, επίσης, διαφέρουν αισθητά από τις μυκηναϊκές, υπομυκηναϊκές και πρώιμες ΠΓ παραδόσεις στο «Αλωνάκι» Ελάτειας. Προτείνεται ότι οι τελευταίες ταφές στους επτά παλαιούς θαλαμωτούς τάφους της πλαγιάς στο «Αλωνάκι» είχαν διανοιχθεί για αξιοσέβαστα μέλη οικογενειών ή φυλών, που είχαν εγκαθιδρύσει, μετά το τέλος του μυκηναϊκού νεκροταφείου, νέους χώρους ταφής σε άλλα σημεία της περιοχής.

S. DEGER-JALKOTZY

GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM ELATEIA-PALONAKI.  
THE END OF A LONG HISTORY

It is my great pleasure and an even greater honour to contribute to the Festschrift for Phanouria Dakoronia, a distinguished archaeologist and my dear friend. Since our friendship was formed almost thirty years ago I not only have enjoyed Phanouria's eminent humane qualities. I also had the privilege to witness at close range the enormous contributions which she has made to the archaeology of Greece both as an excavator and as a scholar. Under her direction the Ephorate at Lamia made great progress in the archaeological investigation of Central Greece. In fact, the archaeological map of those regions which formerly had been almost blank of pre-Hellenistic sites is now covered with evidence for all periods from the Neolithic onwards.

In 1988 Phanouria Dakoronia generously invited me to start a joint excavation of the Ephorate at Lamia and my Institute of Ancient History at the University of Salzburg. It was meant to be a token of our friendship and it was accepted in this sense. Out of several possible sites we chose Elateia-Alonaki in the Upper Kephissos valley where grave-robbers had started to pillage the chamber-tombs of a Mycenaean cemetery. We have never regretted that choice. Both for me and for my former students the four years of fieldwork and the following years of material study will remain unforgettable.

Under these auspices it is clear that my contribution to a volume in honour of Phanouria Dakoronia has to deal with Elateia-Alonaki. Many finds and cultural aspects of the cemetery have already been covered by a handsome number of publications. I would now like to present a small group of pottery which refers to the time when the cemetery fell out of use<sup>1</sup>. The significance of this material lies not only with its chronology. It has a bearing on the burial practices, too, a subject in which Phanouria is greatly interested.

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- LH = Late Helladic
  - PG = Protogeometric
  - EPG = Early Protogeometric
  - LPG = Late Protogeometric
  - SPG = Sub-Protogeometric
  - EG = Early Geometric
  - MG = Middle Geometric

As has been pointed out at many other occasions, the Mycenaean cemetery of Elateia-Alonaki was distinguished by its longstanding use from LH IIIA 1 to the Early Iron Age<sup>2</sup>. During the later part of the 12th century BC (LH IIIC Middle/Advanced) the community at Elateia appears to have achieved a pinnacle of economic prosperity and population growth<sup>3</sup> which lasted even beyond the end of the Mycenaean period<sup>4</sup>. However, in the course of the Early Protogeometric period the number of burials declined and many tombs were abandoned. In the following the last burial vases of the Early Iron Age deposited in the tombs of Elateia-Alonaki will be presented.

The group consists of 7 oinochoai (6 of the trefoil-mouthed type), 1 amphoriskos, 4 skyphoi and 5 cups, all datable to the 9th century BC. The 17 vessels were found in seven tombs. Only six of them had remained in undisturbed contexts.

\* I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Florian Ruppenstein who discussed with me chronological aspects of the pottery presented here and kindly assisted me with the search for comparative material.

1. On the history of the Alonaki slope in Hellenistic and Roman times, see ΖΑΧΟΣ 2013.
2. For a general overview of the history of the cemetery and its finds see DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY 2004.

The pottery chronology of the periods LH IIIA-LH IIIC Early has been discussed by BÄCHLE 2003. See also A. Bächle's contribution to this volume.

For LH IIIC Middle see S. DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007.

3. DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2).
4. S. DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009.

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- ΖΑΧΟΣ [Γ.] 2013 = *Ελλάτεια: Ελληνιστική και Ρωμαϊκή Περίοδος*, Βόλος
  - DAKORONIA [F.], DEGER-JALKOTZY [S.] 2004 = "Special Elateia Day. Elateia in Central Greece: excavation and finds", *BICS* 47, Mycenaean Seminar 2002-2003, Summaries, p. 185-188
  - BÄCHLE [A.-E.] 2003 = *Mykenische Keramik des 14. bis 12. Jahrhunderts vor Christus aus der Nekropole von Elateia-Alonaki. Ein Beispiel regionaler mykenischer Keramikentwicklung*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. Salzburg
  - DEGER-JALKOTZY [S.] 2007 = "Defining LH IIIC Middle at the cemetery of Elateia-Alonaki in Central Greece", in *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms* II, p. 129-159
  - DEGER-JALKOTZY [S.] 2009 = "From LH IIIC Late to the Early Iron Age: The Submycenaean Period at Elateia", in *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms* III, p. 77-116

S. DEGER-JALKOTZY

GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM ELATEIA-ALONAKI.  
THE END OF A LONG HISTORY

## A. THE VASES. Trefoil-mouthed oinochoai

## 1. T. XXXIII/11α (Fig. 1a; 1b).

- Assembled from fragments.
- Core 5YR 7/6; fabric porous, brittle. Paint black, lustrous. Height *ca.* 22 cm (reconstr.).
- Shape: Broad base with narrow ring foot; globular body, short sloping shoulder; high neck with flaring rim and trefoil lip; flat strap handle.
- Decoration: Monochrome outside except for a reserved zone on the upper part of the body decorated with two horizontal lines; handle light-ground with four vertical dark lines.
- Comment: The vase appears to represent a local development of earlier Attic prototypes. The decorative system is well paralleled by monochrome Attic LPG oinochoai with a reserved band on the belly<sup>5</sup>. However, the broad foot and the sturdy globular body of the Elateian vessel are not in keeping with the slender ovoid shapes of LPG and EG I oinochoai. Moreover, the broad basis is a hallmark of EG II rather than of EG I oinochoai. The decoration of the handle may represent a simplified version of Attic prototypes.
- Chronology: EG II.

– ΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ [Α.] 1985 = “Πρωτογεωμετρική και γεωμετρική κεραμική ἐκ Βρανέζι Βιωτιάς”, *AE*, p. 57-84

1a



T. XXXIII/11α



2. T. XXXIII/11β (Fig. 2). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 1310.

- Complete except for the spout.
- Core 7.5 YR 7/3; fabric porous and medium hard with coarse inclusions. Paint black, smeary, dull. Height 28 cm.
- Shape: Broad base with low ring foot; stout body with sloping shoulder; high, slightly conical neck; rim with trefoil lip; flat strap handle.
- Decoration: Monochrome outside except for two groups of thin (carelessly drawn) reserved lines on the body and a large framed window-panel on the neck; the latter is decorated with alternating vertical hatched brackets imitating a meander; handle light-ground decorated with two crossed vertical lines along the back and horizontal stripes at its lower end.
- Comment: The oinochoe shows Attic Early Geometric influence, but the unsuccessful drawing of the meander and the careless drawing of the reserved stripes on the body betray a local product. Crossed vertical lines decorating the handle, too, may well have been a regional feature because the pattern recurs on the oinochoai T. LXI/3α and T. LXIII/17 (below, ns. 5 and 6), as well as on an Early Geometric vessel from Vranezi in Boeotia<sup>6</sup>.
- Chronology: EG II-MG I: The stout profile of the body and the broad base suggest a date in Early Geometric II<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand a comparable vessel from Tomb Γ-16 at Eleusis is MG I<sup>8</sup>.

5. E.g. *Kerameikos* IV, pl. 15; *Lefkandi* I, pl. 140: 22.7.
6. E.g. *ΑΝΑΠΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ* 1985, fig. 5: 27.
7. See e.g. *Kerameikos* V/1, p. 234; pl. 71: inv. no 2139 (grave 38).
8. *ΜΥΑΩΝΑΣ* 1975, pls 241; 420 (Γ16-167).

– ΜΥΑΩΝΑΣ [Γ.Ε.] 1975 = *Τὸ δυτικὸν νεκροταφεῖον τῆς Ἐλευσίνος*, Ἀθήναι

1b

2



T. XXXIII/11β

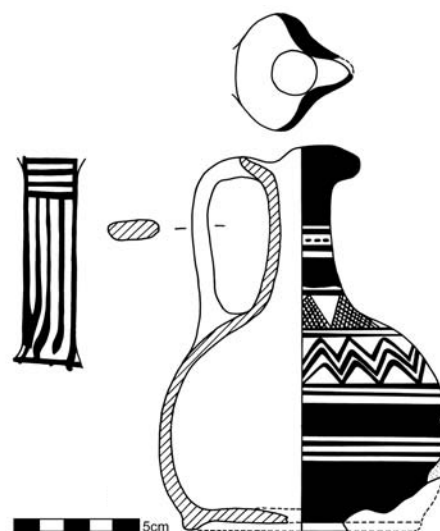


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GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM ELATEIA-ALONAKI.  
THE END OF A LONG HISTORY**3. T. XL/11ζ (Fig. 3). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 1311.**

- Parts of base and lower body missing, otherwise complete.
- Core 5 YR 6/6; fabric porous, medium hard, brittle. Slip 7.5 YR 7/6. Paint blackish brown, lustrous. Height 15, 5 cm.
- Shape: Broad base with low ring foot; stout globular body with sloping shoulder; narrow neck with flaring rim and trefoil lip; flat strap handle.
- Decoration: Lower part of the body monochrome except for two reserved bands with horizontal dark stripes; on the upper part of the body two light-ground zones separated by horizontal lines and decorated with multiple zig-zag and joining cross-hatched triangles respectively; neck monochrome with a narrow reserved zone filled with a row of dots between two horizontal lines; handle light-ground with four horizontal stripes on its upper end and five vertical stripes along the back.
- Comment: The 'lekythos-oinochoe'<sup>9</sup> type first appeared in EG I in Attica where it most probably had been developed. The motif of cross-hatched triangles on the shoulder of T. XL/11ζ is well attested for that period<sup>10</sup>, but the high neck of the vase from Elateia and the multiple zig-zag on its shoulder are not. In MG I both the lekythos-oinochoe type and the multiple zig-zag motif were popular in Attica<sup>11</sup>, but the combination of hatched triangles and multiple zig-zag, as well as the row of dots on the neck panel, too, do not seem to have been Attic features<sup>12</sup>. In contrast, the neck-panel of the EG II-MG I oinochoe T. LXIII/17 (see below n. 6) is decorated with dots. Moreover, dotted patterns are attested on MG I vessels from the Argolid and on two vases from Boeotia dated to MG II<sup>13</sup>. Finally, the decoration of the handle compares well with that of T. XXXIII/11α (see above n. 1). Under these premises it may be assumed that T. XL/11ζ was a regional product of Central Greece.
- Chronology: EG II-MG I.

3



T. XL/11ζ

#### 4. T. L/8 (Fig. 4).

- Fragments from neck, rim, body and a low broad foot.
- Core 7.5 YR 7/6; fabric medium hard. Paint black, smeary.
- Decoration: Monochrome outside; small window-panel on the neck decorated with hatched meander motif; on the upper part of the body reserved band with two dark horizontal lines. The extant sherds suggest that there was no further banding down the body.
- Chronology: The vessel has been treated elsewhere. On the basis of parallels from the Argolid, Corinthia and Attica a date in EG II or MG I has been suggested<sup>14</sup>.

#### 5. T. LXI/3α (Fig. 5). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 1309.

- Complete
- Core 7.5 YR 7/6; fabric very soft, tempering poor. Paint red. Height 18,3 cm.
- Shape: Flat base; stout globular body with sloping shoulder; height of neck equal to that of body; flaring trefoil-mouthed rim; strap handle with ellipsoid section.

- 
- COLDSTREAM [N.] 1968 = *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London
  - YOUNG [R.S.] 1949 = “An Early Geometric Grave near the Athenian Agora”, *Hesperia* 18, p. 275-297
  - SMITHSON [E.L.] 1974 = “A Geometric Cemetery on the Areopagus: 1897, 1932, 1947”, *Hesperia* 43, p. 325-390
  - COURBIN [P.] 1966 = *La céramique géométrique de l’Argolid*, Paris
  - DAKORONIA [Ph.], DEGER-JALKOTZY [S.], REUER-FABRIZII [S.] 2009 = “Elateia and the Mycenaean Heritage”, in D. DANIELIDOU (ed.), *Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη*, Αθήνα, p. 211-229
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9. For the term see COLDSTREAM 1968, p. 4.
10. See COLDSTREAM, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 10; pl. 1; YOUNG 1949, p. 292 fig. 6; pl. 67:8; p. 293 fig. 7; pl. 67: 9.
11. See SMITHSON 1974, p. 353: A I 18.1-1; pls. 76a; 77a.
12. Florian Ruppenstein has further drawn my attention to the MG I oinochoe Γ 15-160 from Eleusis (ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 8], pls. 239b; 240a) where, however, the main motif is a multiple zig-zag accompanied by dots.
13. COURBIN 1966, pl. 20 (Tiryns T. 24); pl. 20: C 2476 (Argos T. 191). For Boeotia see ANAPEIQMENON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), pl. 11: 4 (stemmed skyphos); pl. 13: 10 (mug).
14. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, REUER-FABRIZII 2009.

4



T. L/8

5



T. LXI/3α

S. DEGER-JALKOTZY

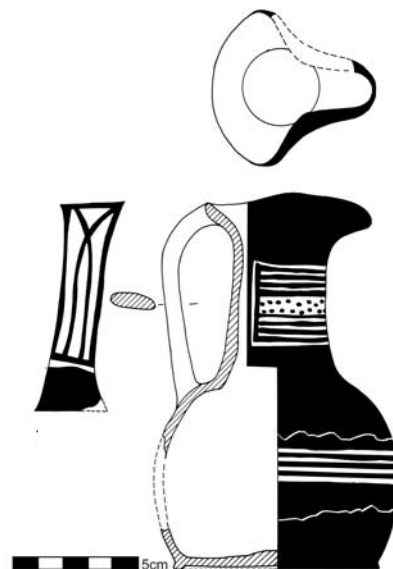
GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM ELATEIA-ALONAKI.  
THE END OF A LONG HISTORY

- Decoration: Monochrome outside except for two striped zones on the belly and a framed window-panel on the neck filled with multiple zig-zag; handle light-ground with horizontal stripes on its upper end, vertical stripes on the lower end, and two crossed vertical lines along the back.
- Comment: The vessel compares well with oinochai from Athens (Kerameikos Tomb 41<sup>15</sup> and Tomb 43<sup>16</sup>) and from Merenda in East Attica<sup>17</sup>. According to N. Coldstream the two Kerameikos tombs date to the transition from EG to MG<sup>18</sup>.
- Chronology: According to the stylistic development of Attic pottery the comparatively small window-panel on T. LXI/3α seems to speak for a date prior to MG I. Moreover, the multiple zig-zag motif was a feature of EG II. Under these premises T. LXI/3α can be dated to EG II.

**6. T. LXIII/17 (Fig. 6).**

- Reassembled from fragments.
- Core 7.5 YR 7/6; fabric medium hard, brittle. Paint black, smeary, dull. Height ca. 21-22 cm (reconstr.).
- Shape: Broad flat base with low ring foot; body and neck compare well with T. LXI/3α; flat strap handle.
- Decoration: Monochrome outside except for a broad striped band on the belly and a wide window-panel on the neck; the panel is framed and decorated with two rows of dots between three horizontal stripes above and below; handle light-ground decorated with dark lines along the edges and two crossed vertical lines on the back.
- Comment: As has been discussed earlier, the dot motif is rare but it does appear on several vases from the Argolid and from Boeotia (see above for T. XL/11ζ). The decoration of the handle, too, may have been a local stylistic element (see above for T. XXXIII/11β and T. LXI/3α).

6



T. LXIII/17

- Chronology: EG II-MG I (on account of the window-panel which is wider than that of T. LXI/3α).

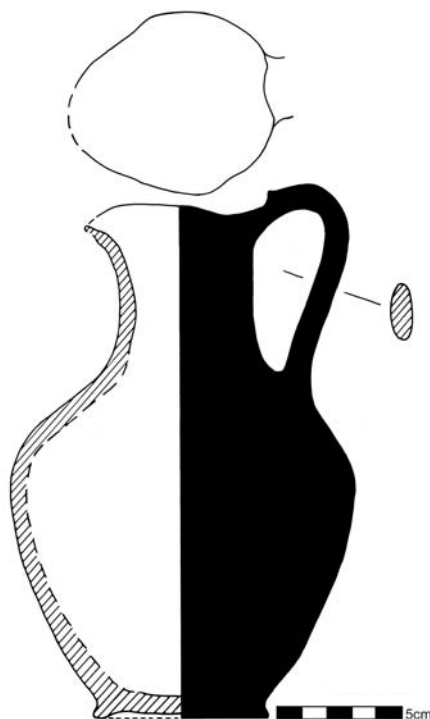
7. **T. XLVIII/3b (Fig. 7).** Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 651.

- Complete except for part of the spout.
- Core 7, 5 YR 7/6; fabric soft, tempering poor, quality inferior. Paint blackish brown, smeary. Surface burnished. Height 20, 5cm.
- Shape: Ring foot; body slightly bi-conical; largest diameter well above the middle of the body; neck perked-up with spouted rim; handle raised to above the rim.
- Decoration: Monochrome outside.
- Comment: The vessel has no parallels in Attica. It may have been the product of a Central Greek pottery style<sup>19</sup> (on this point see further below p. 67f). The slender and perked-up shape differs from LPG vessels which were ovoid and more voluminous<sup>20</sup>. The best parallel is provided by an oinochoe in local 'Black Slip Ware' from Tomb 56 of the Skoubris cemetery at Lefkandi, dated to Sub-Protogeometric I<sup>21</sup>.
- Chronology: The parallels from Lefkandi and Boeotia seem to require a date in EG I (=SPG I). However, by comparison with the amphoriskos T. LXI/2β and the dark-ground cup T. XLIV/10b (see below, ns. 8 and 13) a date in EG II cannot be excluded.

15. *Kerameikos* V/1, pl. 72: inv. no 2149 (grave 41).
16. *Kerameikos* V/1, pl. 74: inv. no 1253 (grave 43); COLDSTREAM, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), pl. 2: d.
17. XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, p. 77 Kat. 190 inv. no 1567; pl. 2: b.
18. COLDSTREAM, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 14.
19. ΑΝΑΠΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6).
20. Phokis: AΔ 47 (1991), Xρὸν., p. 200, pl. 61; AΔ 48 (1993), p. 200 (Modi). NW Boeotia: ΑΝΑΠΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), fig. 1: 2; pl. 10: 2 (Vranezi); fig. 5: 27; pl. 17: 27 (Antikyra). LEMOS 2002, p. 204.
21. *Lefkandi* I, pl. 107: S 56.2.

- XAGORARI-GLEISSNER [M.] 2005 = *Die geometrische Nekropole von Merenda. Die Funde aus der Grabung von I. Papadimitriou 1960* (= *Würzburger Studien zur Sprache und Kultur* 7), Dettelbach
- LEMOS [I.S.] 2002 = *The Protogeometric Aegean. The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC*, Oxford

7



T. XLVIII/3b

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GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM ELATEIA-ALONAKI.  
THE END OF A LONG HISTORYA. THE VASES *Amphoriskos*

## 8. T. LXI/2β (Fig. 8). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K656.

- Complete but slightly damaged.
- Core 7.5 YR 7/4-7/6; fabric soft, brittle, badly fired. Paint brownish black, smeary, slipshod. Height 16,3 cm.
- Shape: Concave base with ring foot; body oval; short and wide neck with sharply everted rim; flat lip; flat vertical strap handles on the shoulder.
- Decoration: Monochrome outside except for a small front panel on the shoulder; front panel filled with cross-hatching between two vertical lines; light-ground lip crossed by four groups of 5-8 bars.
- Comment: The amphoriskos had its roots in the Protogeometric style(s) of Central Greece and Euboea<sup>22</sup>. At Elateia amphoriskoi with vertical shoulder-handles first appeared at the beginning of the Submycenaean period, so that the shape may well have been invented in Central Greece<sup>23</sup>. The decoration harks back even further to the Mycenaean pottery of LH IIIC Late when monochrome surfaces<sup>24</sup> and bars across flat rims<sup>25</sup> became popular<sup>26</sup>. The cross-hatched pattern of the front panel, too, had its predecessors in LH IIIC<sup>27</sup>, as well as in PG panel decorations particularly of the LPG phase<sup>28</sup>. In fact, two cross-hatched panels are painted on the light-ground shoulder zone of a LPG amphoriskos with vertical handles on its shoulder from the Palia Perivolia Tomb P. 23 at Lefkandi<sup>29</sup>. However, the profile of the vessel does not agree with the LPG types from Euboea and elsewhere. Moreover, the almost complete monochrome coating of the surface of T. LXI/2β and the limitation of its decorative zone to a small window differ from the decorative *schemata* of PG closed shapes. It may have been borrowed from open shapes such as Attic LPG-EG monochrome kantharoid skyphoi with a small shoulder panel on each side<sup>30</sup>. In fact, among the finds from the PG-G cist graves at Modi-Aghios Athanasios a skyphos with dark paint and a meander-metope has been mentioned<sup>31</sup>. Under these premises the amphoriskos T. LXI/2β may be ascribed to a local pottery style of the 9th century B.C. in Central Greece, similarly to the oinochoe T. XLVIII/3b.
- Chronology: The amphoriskos was found in a primary burial context together with the oinochoe T. LXI/3α and the skyphos T. LXI/2α both dated to EG II and EG II-MG I respectively. A date in EG II seems plausible.

8



T. LXI/2β



## A. THE VASES Skyphoi

### First group:

The four Geometric skyphoi from Elateia can be divided into two groups.

#### 9. T. L/11c (Fig. 9). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K662.

- Core 7.5YR 6/6; fabric soft, porous. Paint dark brown to black, smeary, dull. Height 9,8cm.

#### 10 T.LXI/2α (Fig. 10). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 661.

- Core 7.5 YR 7/6; fabric hard. Paint dark brown, smeary, dull, streaky. Height 9,8cm.

The two vessels are look-alikes.

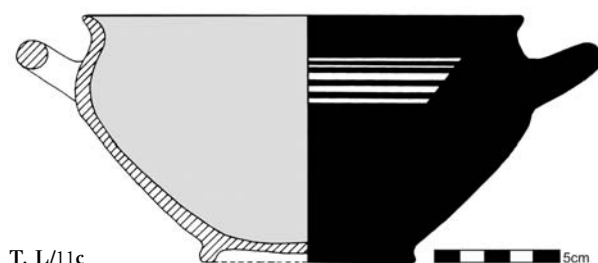
- Shape: Ring foot; largest diameter placed high on the conical bowl with short incurving shoulder and out-turned rim; at the level of the largest diameter two horizontal rounded handles.
- Decoration: Monochrome in and out except underneath of handles; in the handle zone trapezoid window-panel with four and three horizontal stripes respectively.

22. LEMOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 20), p. 63; see also V. R. D'A. DESBOROUGH, *Lefkandi I*, p. 308-311.
23. DEGER-JALKOTZY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), p. 95f.
24. DEGER-JALKOTZY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4).
25. LH IIIC Late: MOUNTJOY 1986, figs 255; 232. PG: *Lefkandi I*, pl. 92: 2.1.5; 4.1 (shallow bowls). LEMOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 20), pls 80: 3 (kalathos); 84: 1.2, 85: 1 (amphorae).
26. For Elateia see BÄCHLE 1993, figs 21: 130.145 (shallow bowl); 33: 226 (kalathos); 45: 240.251 (skyphos).
27. See FURUMARK 1972, fig. 72: triglyph motive n.23.
28. For skyphoi, kraters and closed vessels see LEMOS, as above (n. 20), pls. 32: 4; 36: 1; 38: 1; 39: 3.
29. LEMOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 20), pl. 39: 2. *Lefkandi I*, pl. 141: 3.
30. See e.g. BLEGEN 1952, pl. 75: 19.18.
31. *ΑΔ* 48 (1993), *Χρον.*, p. 205f.

- MOUNTJOY [P. A.] 1986 = *MDP*
- BÄCHLE [A. E.] 1993 = *Fragmente bemalter mykenischer Keramik aus den Gräbern von Elateia-Alonaki*, M.A. thesis, Univ. Salzburg
- FURUMARK [A.] 1972 = *Mycenaean Pottery I. Analysis and Classification*, Stockholm
- BLEGEN [C. A.] 1952 = "Two Athenian Grave Groups of about 900 BC", *Hesperia* 21, p. 279-294

9

10



T. L/11c



T.LXI/2α

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- Comment and chronology: There are no Attic and Euboean parallels for the decorative system but there are comparable vases from Kalapodi, Medeon and Corinth<sup>32</sup>. The comparable pieces from Corinth were dated to Middle Geometric I<sup>33</sup>. The skyphoi from Kalapodi were found together with Sub-Protogeometric pottery so that a date “in the later part of the 9th century” has been suggested<sup>34</sup>. The skyphos T. LXI/2α was found together with the EG II oinochoe T. LXI/3α, while an EG II-MG I date has been suggested for the oinochoë fragments T. L/8 found in the same tomb as the skyphos T. L/11c (see above, p. 59). Therefore a date either in EG II or during the EG II-MG I transition can be suggested for the two skyphoi. Moreover, these two skyphoi corroborate A. Nitsche’s view that the type of ring based skyphoi with banded window panels was particularly popular in Central Greece and in the northern Peloponnese<sup>35</sup>.

### Second group:

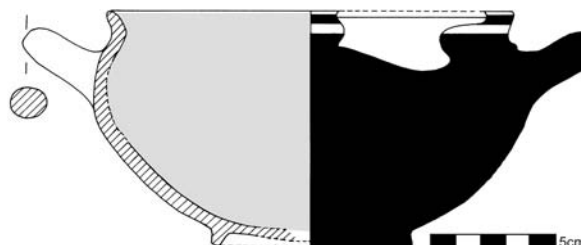
#### 11. T. XXXIII/19α (Fig. 11).

- Partly reassembled; many fragments missing (old breakings!).
- Core 7.5 YR 8/4; fabric porous; tempering inhomogeneous. Paint dark brown, streaky. Height: 9,5 cm (reconstr.).
- Shape: Convex base with ring foot; rounded bowl with level of largest diameter at about middle of the overall height; short out-turned rim; two horizontal rounded handles on shoulder.
- Decoration: Monochrome in and out except underneath of handles; reserved stripe each on lip and underneath of rim.

#### 12. T. LXIII/ 22b (Fig. 12). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 660.

- Complete. Core 5 YR 6/6 – 7.5 YR 6/6; fabric hard, porous. Paint dark brown, streaky, smeary. Height: 7,4 cm.
- Shape: Flat base with ring foot; rounded bowl with level of largest diameter at about two-thirds of overall height; short rim, slightly curved outside; two rounded horizontal handles set at level of largest diameter.
- Decoration: Monochrome in and out except underneath of handles; on lip inside small horizontal stripe crossed by four groups of 16 – 20 bars.

11



T. XXXIII/19α

- Comment and chronology: The two skyphoi can be compared to EG II and MG I vessels from Attica, including the decoration of rim<sup>36</sup> and lip<sup>37</sup>. In sum all four Geometric skyphoi from Elateia were derived from Attic prototypes as far as shape and monochrome coating are concerned. However, a closer connection with the NE Peloponnese (and with Corinth in particular) is displayed by the decorative system of the two skyphoi of the first group. As far as chronology is concerned, all four vessels may be assigned to EG II or MG I<sup>38</sup>.

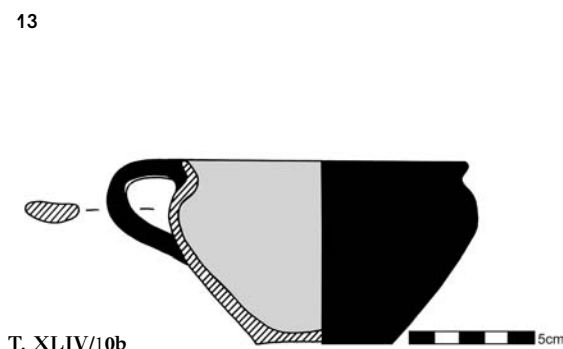
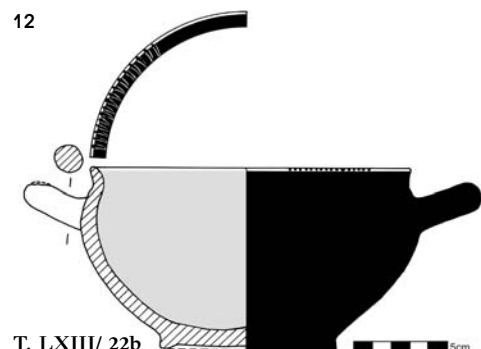
#### A. THE VASES Cups

##### 13. T. XLIV/10b (Fig. 13). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 702.

- Complete.
- Core 7.5 YR 7/6; fabric hard, well fired. Paint dark brown, streaky.
- Shape: Flat base; deep conical body with short incurving shoulder; short rim, curved outside; flat strap-handle
- Decoration: Monochrome in and out.
- Comment: This cup differs from the Attic EG cups, as well as from the other four Geometric cups from Elateia by its markedly conical shape and completely monochrome coating. Both features derived from the LPG tradition of monochrome cups with flat base and short everted lip<sup>39</sup>. It may be assumed that our cup – like the oinochoe T. XLVIII/3b and the amphoriskos T. LXI/2β (see above ns. 7 and 8) – may be assigned to a regional Geometric pottery style of Central Greece (on this point see further below, p 67f). There is a good parallel from Vranezi in Boeotia attributed by A. Andreiomenou to the so-called ‘Thessalian Style’ and dated to SPG I-II<sup>40</sup>.
- Chronology: A date in EG/SPG I-II may be suggested in analogy to the Vranezi cup mentioned above.

32. For references see DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, REUER-FABRIZII, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 14), p. 217.
33. COLDSTREAM, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 95.
34. Cf. A. NITSCHKE 1987, p. 46.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Athens: *Kerameikos* V/1, pl. 89: skyphoi from tombs 13, 36, 37. Eleusis: ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 8), pl. 423 :Γ15-159; Γ16: 166. Merenda: XAGORARI-GLEISSNER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 17), fig. 21: a-c.
37. See e.g. *Kerameikos* V/1, pl. 90: inv. no 893 (grave 12). ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 8), pl. 423: Γ16: 168. XAGORARI-GLEISSNER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 17), pl. 16: c-d.
38. F. Ruppenstein (personal communication) points out that a skyphos from the Kerameikos grave 89 (*Kerameikos* V/1, pl. 100: inv. no 781) was dated by N. Coldstream (as above [n. 9], p. 22) to the MG II-LG I transition. However, this instance may have been exceptional so that it appears advisable to assign the group from Elateia to the mainstream EG II or MG I chronology.
39. On the PG origin of this type and its wide distribution during LPG see LEMOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 20), p. 27-30.
40. ΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), p. 83: no 21.

- NITSCHKE [A.] 1987 = “Protogeometrische und Subprotogeometrische Keramik aus dem Heiligtum bei Kalapodi”, *AA* 1987, p. 35-49, espec. p. 46



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14 - 16. The following three cups form a homogeneous group.

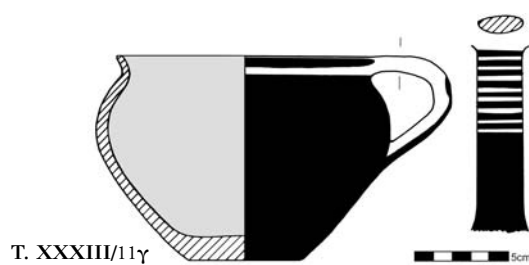
14. T. XXXIII/11γ (Fig. 14). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 705.

- Complete but slightly damaged.
- Core: 7.5 YR 7/6; fabric hard. Paint brownish black, streaky, application careless. Height: 8,2cm.
- Shape: Flat thick base; deep rounded body; level of highest diameter at about half of overall height; rounded shoulder; short rim, curved outside; flat strap handle.
- Decoration: Monochrome in and out except for a small reserved band underneath of rim; multiple bars on upper half of the handle, lower part of the handle monochrome.

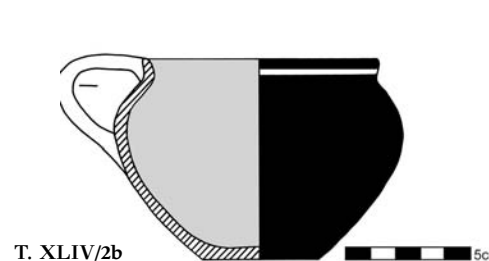
15. T. XLIV/2b (Fig. 15). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 704.

- Core: 5 YR 6/6; fabric medium hard, well fired. Paint reddish brown, even. Height: 8,1cm.
- Shape and decoration very similar to the previous piece.

14



15



16. T. XLIV/2d (Fig. 16). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 703.

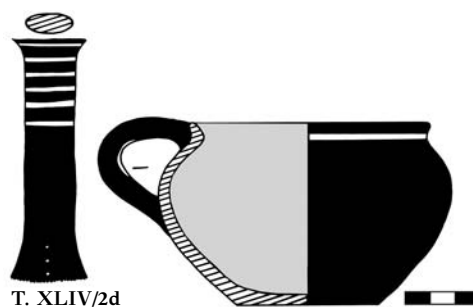
- Half preserved.
- Core: 7.5 YR 6/6; fabric very soft, brittle, badly fired. Paint reddish brown to black. Height 7,3 cm.
- Shape: Similar to that of ns. 15 and 16 except that the body is shallower.
- Decoration: Same as of ns. 15 and 16.
- Comment: These three cups correspond to the type which was typical for EG. Attic parallels have been dated either to EG I<sup>41</sup> or to EG II<sup>42</sup>. Moreover, a comparable cup from Orchomenos in Boeotia has been assigned to EG II<sup>43</sup>.
- Chronology: A date in EG I-II is suggested for the three afore-mentioned cups.

17. T. XL/11ξ (Figs 17a; 17b). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K 706.

- Complete.
- Core: 5 YR 7/6; fabric medium hard, porous, good tempering. Paint dark brown with red patches; streaky. Height: 8,9cm.
- Shape: Comparable to cups ns. 14, 15, 16 except that the rim is higher and slightly flaring.
- Decoration: monochrome in and out except for reserved rim outside with two horizontal stripes, and thin reserved stripe on the inner face of the lip; back of handle monochrome.
- Comment and chronology: The decoration of the rim is not attested on cups from Attica, but there are good parallels from the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi<sup>44</sup>. The Euboean cups have been dated by the excavators to LPG and SPG I. However, the overall chronology of the other Geometric vessels from Elateia seems to suggest an EG date for T. XL/11ξ. Moreover, the chronology proposed by the excavators of Lefkandi may have been too high<sup>45</sup>. Therefore an EG I-II appears adequate for the Elateian cup.

41. COLDSTREAM, as above (n. 9), p. 11; pl. 1: n (Grave Agora D 16).
42. Cf. *Kerameikos* V/1, grave 2 (pl.105: inv. nos 934.933) and grave 74 (pl. 105: inv. no. 250).
43. ΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), p. 72; pl. 19: no. 32.
44. See *Lefkandi* III, pls. 47: 3 (grave 44); 50: 25 (grave 45); 62: 6.17.18 (grave 55).
45. F. Ruppenstein (personal communication): the imported Attic hydria from grave 54 (*Lefkandi* III, pl. 124a) – upon which the chronology of the whole group apparently rests – ought to be dated to EG II rather than to LPG or EG I.

16



T. XLIV/2d

17



T. XL/11ξ

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In summary, of the five Geometric cups from Elateia T. XLIV/10b appears to adhere to a local pottery tradition, T. XL/11ξ displays closer affinities to the pottery from Euboea, and the three remaining cups correspond to the mainstream trends set by the workshops of Athens.

It should be first mentioned that in many cases the final burials in the chamber-tombs of the Alonaki slope had not remained *in situ*. The reason has to be sought in re-use of the area in Hellenistic and Roman times. The roofs of large tombs collapsed under the quarrying and other industrial activities of the Hellenistic period, and the chambers were filled with debris. Still later on, in Hellenistic/Roman times the slope was again turned into a cemetery and Mycenaean tombs were sought out and re-used for interments<sup>46</sup>.

**T. XLIV/89** Evidence of this tomb has been reported elsewhere<sup>47</sup>. The earliest finds made in the chamber can be dated to LH IIIC Middle/Advanced. The latest burial gift was the cup **T. XLIV/10b** (Fig. 13) which, unfortunately, cannot be assigned to a specific burial<sup>48</sup>.

In the *dromos* the burial of a woman (age: 50 years)<sup>49</sup> was found *in situ*. Remains of a stone setting suggest that the burial was surrounded by a stone enclosure. The interment must have been deposited when the chamber was no longer in use. It was accompanied by the two cups **T. XLIV/2b** (Fig. 15) and **T. XLIV/2d** (Fig. 16). The pottery chronology of the three cups suggests that the burial in the *dromos* took place in EG I-II while T. XLIV/10b and the burial to which it belonged had been deposited at about the same time or slightly earlier.

**T. XLVIII/89** The small tomb T. XLVIII/89, too, has been described elsewhere<sup>50</sup>. It clearly adheres to the idea of a chamber-tomb, albeit not of the canonical Mycenaean shape. The layout consisted of a very short *dromos* and a small hollow which barely deserves the name of chamber. Instead of a proper *stomion* there was an

– DEGER-JALKOTZY [S.] 1999 = “Elateia and Problems of Pottery Chronology”, *ΠΜΚ* 1, p. 195-202

– DAKORONIA [Ph.], DEGER-JALKOTZY [S.], FABRIZII-REUER [S.] 2002 = “Beisetzungen mit Leichenbrand aus der Felskammernekropole von Elateia-Alonaki, Griechenland”, *Archaeologia Austriaca* 84-85 (2000/01), (=Festschrift für Egon Reuer zum 75. Geburtstag), p. 137-153



edge backing the slab which closed the opening. The tomb contained a single burial of a woman (age: 40-50 years)<sup>51</sup> accompanied by a simple cast bronze ring with circular section, two iron pins and the oinochoe T. XLVIII/3b (Fig. 7).

The most remarkable feature of the tomb was its close association with the adjacent Mycenaean chamber-tomb T. L/89. It seems as if the creation of a funerary ensemble was intended. The date when T. XLVIII/89 was added on T. L/89<sup>52</sup> is indicated by the oinochoe of T. XLVIII/89 i.e. in SPG/EG I-II (see above, p. 57). According to the chronology of the Geometric vases from T. L/89 (see above, ns. 4 and 9) the ensemble T. XLVIII+ L/89 outlasted EG II. It may have been abandoned around 800 B.C. (see also further below, T. L/89).

### T. LXI/90

The 'chamber' of this tomb was very small like that of T. XLVIII/89 but its oval shape was more carefully cut. The short *dromos*, too, was well designed and the closure of the entrance consisted of dry stone masonry. Like T. XLVIII/89 the tomb contained a single burial, a woman aged ca. 50<sup>53</sup>. The skeleton was found *in situ* and surrounded by three burial vases: the skyphos T. LXI/2α, the amphoriskos T. LXI/2β and the oinochoe T. LXI/3α. Moreover, there were fragments of an iron dress-pin. According to the pottery chronology the interment was deposited in EG II.

### T. LXIII/90

The upper part of this large tomb was destroyed during the Hellenistic period by industrial activities; even a water basin was set into the upper part of the chamber. Fortunately the damaging activities did not penetrate as far as the floor of the chamber. The chronological range of the pottery is LH IIIC Middle/Advanced to Protogeometric, among the small finds there are some LH II-IA-IIIB objects, too. The Geometric skyphos T. LXIII/22b was found in the eastern part of the chamber next to the skeletal remains of a woman. The skeleton was in disarray but it still appeared to have been left at the location where it had been buried. If so, it was the last interment of the tomb.

The fragments of the oinochoe T. LXIII/17 were collected from the lowermost stones of the *stomion* closure. When they were re-assembled the vase proved to be complete. Therefore it may well have had remained *in situ*.

46. For the history of Elateia-Alonaki in Hellenistic and Roman times see ZACHOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1).

47. DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, p. 197f. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, p. 146.

48. Originally the cup was assigned to the male burial in the SW corner of the chamber (DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 47], p. 197), but since then the anthropological investigation of the skeletal material has not unequivocally confirmed this assignation.

49. The anthropological data have been provided by Dr. Susanne Reuer-Fabrizii to whom my sincere thanks are due.

50. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, REUER-FABRIZII, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 14).

51. See above (n. 49).

52. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, REUER-FABRIZII, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 14).

53. See above (n. 49).

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The debris from the collapse of the roof had disturbed the burials on the floor. In the south-west corner near to the entrance of the tomb the two oinochoai **T. XXXIII/11α** and **T. XXXIII 11β** and the cup **T. XXXIII/11γ** were found. It is not possible to assign these vases to (a) certain burial(s). Yet they certainly were the last objects to be deposited in the tomb which had been cut during LH IIIA 2-III B 1<sup>54</sup> and used until LH IIIC Late. – The skyphos **T. XXXIII/19α** was not found in the chamber. Its fragments were collected from the *dromos* fill.

**T. XL/88**

The roof of this tomb, too, had collapsed. The debris contained a lot of Roman material such as glass, pottery and tiles; some of this material had penetrated even into the layers of the Early Iron Age. No vase found in the chamber was earlier than Submycenaean. The Geometric cup **T. XL/11ξ** was found in the north-west corner where most finds had been piled up in a heap. In contrast, the oinochoe **T. XL/11ζ** lay near to the *stomion*. On account of its position it may have been deposited later than the cup. However, like the cup it cannot be assigned to a certain burial.

**T. L/89**

The tomb and its complicated history have been discussed elsewhere<sup>55</sup>. It was probably cut in LH IIIC. In the 9th century B.C. (EG I or EG I-II) the small tomb **T. XLVIII/89** was annexed to it (see above). The duration of the ensemble is indicated by the chronology of the skyphos **T. L/11c** (Fig. 9) and the fragments of the oinochoe **T. L/8** (Fig. 4): The former was associated with a heap of secondary burials piled up along the eastern wall of tomb **T. L**, the latter were scattered all over the fills of chamber and *dromos*. Both vases can be dated to EG II-MG I. They cannot be assigned to certain burial contexts. However, their chronology helps to establish the *terminus ad quem* or *post quem* of the last ceremony which took place in the chamber of **T. L**.<sup>56</sup> The funerary ensemble **T. XLVIII+L/89** was abandoned in or slightly after EG II-MG I, perhaps around 800 BC.

Considering the local production, as well as the conservative character of the Early Iron Age pottery of Elateia in general<sup>57</sup>, it is often difficult to assign an individual vase to a certain phase of the Geometric period. Nevertheless, as has been argued in the present paper, in most cases a date in EG II or MG I can be suggested. In some instances a date in EG I or MG II cannot be excluded. However, in sum it appears justified to attribute the Geometric vases from Elateia to the later part of the 9th century BC.

Most vases clearly reflect the stylistic influences which emanated from Geometric pottery of Attica, Boeotia and the NE Peloponnese. Only the cup T. XL/11ξ comes closer to Euboean prototypes. Nevertheless all of them appear to have been made if not locally at Elateia, so at least in the general region of Central Greece. They differed from their Attic prototypes by their inferior technical quality, by the reduced size of decorative zones and the simplicity of decorative patterns. These shortcomings certainly were a sign of provinciality, even if the potters of the region were well informed of the stylistic developments of the leading centres in pottery production.

The decided affinity of the Geometric pottery from Elateia-Alonaki to the Eastern regions of the Mainland and the Peloponnese requires a comment. During the Mycenaean period the potters of Elateia had adopted stylistic elements from various regions of Greece, but common features with the ceramics from Achaia, Phokis, Boeotia, Thessaly and Skyros prevailed<sup>58</sup>. During the transitional period from the Mycenaean to the Early Iron Age, the long-standing connections with the Western regions declined while, conversely, the cultural and economic relations with the North and East were strengthened<sup>59</sup>. In particular, certain elements made themselves felt of the so-called „Euboean Pottery Koine“ which comprised the regions of Euboea, East Lokris, Phokis, Boeotia and Thessaly<sup>60</sup>. Nevertheless the Early Protogeometric pottery from Elateia preserved a distinctive regional character which still adhered to the local pottery tradition of LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean<sup>61</sup>.

54. BÄCHLE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 93f.
55. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, REUER-FABRIZII, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 14).
56. A large Protogeometric amphora, a Mycenaean sword and a pair of tweezers were deposited and enclosed with a stone setting, see DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, REUER-FABRIZII, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 14).
57. See DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47), p. 195-202.
58. See DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), (“Defining LH IIIC Middle at Elateia”), p. 144.
59. See DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), p. 98.
60. First identified by DESBOROUGH 1972, p. 343. Extensively explored and characterized by LEMOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 20), p. 212-216; map 7.
61. DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47).

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It is this tradition in which the oinochoe T. XLVIII/3b, the amphoriskos T. LXI/2β, and the cup T. XLIV/10b had their roots. Unfortunately, very little is known of the later Protogeometric period in the Upper Kephissos valley after the chamber-tombs of Elateia-Alonaki had been abandoned at the end of EPG (or in MPG, at the latest). The few LPG vases reported so far from the pithos and cist graves at Modi-Aghios Athanasios<sup>62</sup> suggest that towards the end of the 10th century BC the pottery of the Upper Kephissos valley still was part of the “Euboean Koine” but that links with Athens had become more prominent. An analogous development appears to have taken place with the pottery of NW Boeotia<sup>63</sup>. Therefore it appears plausible to attribute the three vases T. XLVIII/3b, T. LXI/2β and T. XLIV/10b to a local Geometric pottery style which was derived from the LPG pottery tradition of the Upper Kephissos valley and neighbouring regions. They could be called ‘Sub-Protogeometric’, analogous to the contemporaneous pottery at Lefkandi.

Apart from these three vases, the Geometric pottery from Elateia fell in line with the ceramic developments of Attica and Corinthia. The shapes selected for burial gifts, too, differed from those of the earlier periods. During the 12th-10th centuries BC open shapes were almost absent from the burial vases deposited in the chambers<sup>64</sup>. Open shapes such as craters, kylikes, skyphoi and cups predominated among the pottery fragments collected from the *dromos* fills. Clearly these vases were used for ceremonies which were performed outside of the burial chambers such as farewell toasts and funerary meals. A completely different picture is suggested by the seven burials of the 9th century BC: Nine out of the seventeen burial vases were skyphoi and cups. With the exception of the skyphos T. XXXIII/19α none of them was found in the *dromoi*. Even the skyphos just mentioned may have been displaced by later interferences. The two cups found in the *dromos* of T. XLIV/89 belonged to a burial deposited in the *dromos* (see above, p. 62-63).

The burial habits of the 9th century in the tombs of Elateia-Alonaki do not present a consistent picture. On the one hand the interments were still deposited in Mycenaean chamber-tombs. Moreover, the small chamber-tombs T. XLVIII/89 and T. LXI/90 were even cut in the 9th century. On the other hand the chambers of these ‘a-canonical’ tombs contained a single burial each, thus corresponding to a burial practice of the Iron Age. The same applies to the single burial enclosed by a stone setting in the *dromos* of T. XLIV/89. A similar picture emerges from the burial

gifts. Bronze rings and long dress-pins had been part of the burial equipment at Elateia since the transition from the Mycenaean to the Early Iron Age. However, the comparatively large percentage of open cups and skyphoi among the burial vases differs sharply from the late Mycenaean, Submycenaean and EPG traditions. The choice of shapes, too, – oinochoe, skyphos and cup – conformed to the general standard practised in many regions of Greece. The ‘lekythos-oinochoe’ T. XL/11ζ is a good case in point. Vases of this type were rare and always stood out by their elaborate decoration. They obviously were considered as burial gifts of higher value. At Elateia, too, T. XL/11ζ is the most elaborately decorated specimen among the Geometric vase. Only the amphoriskos T. LXI/2β may have been a reference to the local tradition<sup>65</sup>.

It is difficult to reflect on the rites which may have accompanied the last burials at Elateia. All four undisturbed burials were those of women. However, their endowment was not uniform. The burial in the *dromos* of T. XLIV/89 was enclosed by a stone setting, and the grave furniture consisted of two cups. For two interments small a – ‘canonical’ chamber – tombs were cut. Both women were endowed with finger-rings and iron dress-pins. However, one was accompanied by an oinochoe (T. XLVIII), the other one by three vessels: an oinochoe, an amphoriskos and a skyphos (T. LXI/90). The fourth burial was deposited in a Mycenaean chamber-tomb together with a skyphos (T. LXIII/90). There is no evidence for rites performed in front of the chamber or in the *dromos*, unless the skyphos T. XXXIII/19α was found *in situ*. Perhaps the oinochoe T. LXIII/17 which was found on the lowest stone setting of the *stomion* closure may be accepted as an indication that a funerary toast had been proposed to the deceased.

A further problem is set by the fact that out of 91 tombs no more than seven tombs contained Geometric vases. This fact sharply contrasts to the drastic increase in population which had taken place during the transitional period from the Mycenaean to the Early Iron Age. In fact, changes in the burial habits and new elements which then appeared in the material culture even suggest that new population groups had arrived<sup>66</sup>. However, these people had not come to stay for good. As has been mentioned earlier, the PG pottery from Elateia is still under study. Nevertheless it already appears that a few burials can be perhaps assigned to MPG but that evidence for the LPG phase is missing. There is no material which can be compared to the LPG pottery of Lefkandi, Boeotia and Modi-Aghios Athanasios, let alone of Attica. Where had the people gone to? And how can we explain the deposit of

62. AΔ 47 (1991), Χρον., p. 200; pl. 61; AΔ 48, 1993, p. 205f.

63. ΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), fig. 1: 2; pl. 10: 2 (Vranezi); fig. 5: 27; pl. 17: 27 (Antikyra). LEMOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 20), p. 204.

64. From LH IIIC Middle/Advanced until EPG no more than three skyphoi, two kalathoi and one tray were found in tomb-chambers.

65. The amphoriskos had been the predominant shape during the final Mycenaean and the Early Iron Age at Elateia-Alonaki. Under these premises it is perhaps no mere chance that shaping and decoration of T. LXI/2β hark back to the local stylistic tradition, see further above, p. 67f.

66. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, REUER-FABRIZII, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47).

S. DEGER-JALKOTZY

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burials one or two generations later, during the 9th century BC and even the later part of it?

The answer to this question can only be hypothetical. Considering the situation of Elateia at the major routes of communication from the north to the south of Mainland Greece it is tempting to assume that the decline in burials and the eventual abandonment of the cemetery in the PG period was the result of population movements. Population groups even may have aimed at regions farther afield<sup>67</sup>.

Apart from this, a further explanation is offered by the recent archaeological finds from Modi, a village in the neighbourhood of Elateia. Like at Elateia-Alonaki, Mycenaean chamber-tombs were discovered north of the village at the sites Modi-Skamna and Modi-Liaraki field on the foothills of the Kallidromos. The tombs were abandoned at the end of the Mycenaean or during the Submycenaean period. In 1992 several PG pithos-graves and EG cist-graves were discovered south of the village and nearer to the plain at the site Modi-Aghios Athanasios<sup>68</sup>. The graves were found by chance in the course of road works. It may be assumed that similar cemeteries were established from the later 10th century BC onwards at other sites of the Upper Kephissos plain and perhaps near Elateia, too. In fact, the continuous use of the sanctuary at Kalapodi indicates that the region was inhabited throughout the Early Iron Age.

Finally, I would like to point out that the last burials of Elateia-Alonaki were not only those of human beings. In T. L/89 a Mycenaean sword and a pair of tweezers were deposited in their own right, surrounded by a small stone enclosure and accompanied by a local style Protogeometric amphora<sup>69</sup>. According to the pottery found in the tomb this event took place at about 800 BC, more than one century after the amphora had been made and sometime after the small tomb T. XLVIII/89 had been attached to T. L/89. It is perhaps too far-reaching to interpret the evidence of T. L/89 in terms of a true ancestor cult. But taken together with the last burials of Elateia-Alonaki it seems as if in the Geometric period the Mycenaean tombs at Elateia were regarded as symbols of a great past, testifying to family descent from, or some other kind of legitimate connection with the ancestors who had lived in those remote days. Therefore I suggest that the last burials in the time-old chamber-tombs of the Alonaki-slope were arranged for honourable members of families or clans who otherwise buried their relatives in cist or pithos graves. The seven tombs of Alonaki



which contained Geometric burials could have easily corresponded to seven families or clans who may have constituted a village community. It is worth noting that the four Geometric burials which were found in undisturbed contexts were those of women advanced in years.

Phanouria Dakoronia is studying the burial habits which were practiced in the tombs of Elateia-Alonaki. I am sure that she will devote a special interest to the Geometric burials, too.

67. Of course the much-debated 'Dorian migration' and the 'migrations of the North-Western Greeks' come to mind. However, at the present state of study it is still premature to enter into this discussion.

68. See above (n. 62).

69. See DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, REUER-FABRIZII, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 14).